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[For information on the Sharía (Islamic law), see Category 671.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
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681 Berber criminal law admits the death penalty, pecuniary sanctions (i.e. fines), reprisal (i.e. vengeance), despoliation, confiscation and the taking of hostages; but not maltreatment, confinement, talion[50], Koranic capital punishment[51] or mutilation. I should classify Berber sanctions or penalties as follows:

1) Pecuniary or Monetary Sanctions (fines, despoliation, confiscation of property)
2) Corporal Sanctions (death, plunder, taking of strangers as hostages)
3) Afflicting Moral Sanctions (banishment, adverse publicity)

[1777] It is very probable (sic) that the Rifians knew of other such sanctions reflected in the Kabyle qanuns of Algeria (such as the enforced shaving of beards and mustaches, a hirsute face being considered a manly attribute), but the memory of them has not remained [1779] sufficiently clear[52]. It is very doubtful that they would ever have admitted whippings or beatings, or the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, as prescribed in the Koran[53]; for no dharfiqth would ever have allowed one of its members to submit to anything of the sort. Berber custom rejects punishment of this type.

The graded scale of fines is worked up according to the external manifestation of the crime, from its beginnings through its commission, and the coefficient of this scale is both the act and the consequences of the crime in question. But it turns out to be infantile (sic), for the manner in which the crime is committed is sanctioned rather than the basis, or the act itself. Thus, for example, from the time a man threatens to shoot a gun at someone, there is a penalty which increases until the bullet hits his adversary[54].

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671 554 693 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their real profession.

671 779 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

671 683

681 443 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

[619] [673]

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
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613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

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779 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

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182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

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182 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level), as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre interêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
776 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

792 794 575 [778] [554] 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 794 795 575 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee. [779]

792 794 575 These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure
794 of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a
575 member to donate to his zariwya.
[124]

788 Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of
484 wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of
[179] the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died.
[805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu
[178] 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or
[509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group.
[435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in
[671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older,
[554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have
788 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, com-
484 pletely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of
626 the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in 791 754 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif [793] [789] society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 562 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[70] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[70] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dabdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.